

Institute of International Education

International Relations Clubs

Syllabus No. X

The Baltic States

By MARY E. TOWNSEND, PH.D.

Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City



September, 1921

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PREFACE

The following syllabus will doubtless appear to be more detailed than general, to contain more facts than suggestions, thus, perhaps, failing to fulfil the purpose of a study outline. The defect, however, is largely due to the great scarcity of material in English about the Baltic States as well as to the inaccessibility of whatever there is. The author has therefore been forced to incorporate much in the outline to which it is impossible to refer the students.

The nature of the Baltic States as subject provinces until the twentieth century naturally explains the dearth of books about them. Their history, with the possible exception of Finland and Lithuania, must be disentangled from that of their powerful neighbors. Moreover, the recent rapid nationalist movements in the Baltic States have allowed no time for the writing of adequate and substantial accounts. For the most part, whatever exists about them consists of propaganda, speculative and ephemeral magazine articles. An attempt has been made to select the more stable of the latter as well as to base the tracing of recent events upon the documents, some of which are easily accessible. Besides the periodicals already mentioned, the student may find useful the files of *The Nation* (New York) and *The Living Age*.

New York, March 15, 1921

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- Drage, Geof., *Russian Affairs*, London, 1904
- Eastlake, E., *Letters from The Baltic*, London, 1842, (old, but useful for description)
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- Fredericksen, N. C., *Finland: Its Public and Private Economy*, London, 1902
- Gabrys, J., *Lithuania and the Autonomy of Poland*, published by the Lithuanian Information Bureau, Paris, 1915
- Hale, Robert, Report of the Mission to the Baltic Provinces, Finland, Esthonia *Handbooks*, published by the British Foreign Office, Historical Section, nos. 44, 47, 48, 50, *Lithuania, Finland, Aland Islands, Esthonia, Courland, Livonia*, London, 1920
- Hayes, C. H. J., *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, New York, 1916
- , *A Brief History of The Great War*, New York, 1920
- Hill, N., *Poland and the Polish Question*, London, 1915
- Howe, Sonia, *A Thousand Years of Russian History*, London, 1915
- Jusaitis, K. A., *The History of the Lithuanian Nation*, published by the Lithuanian Catholic Truth Society, 1919
- Kennard, H. P., *The Russian Year Book*, 1914
- ✓ Larson, L., *Territorial Problems of the Baltic Basin*, University of Illinois, Bulletin, vol. 16, no. 18, December, 1918
- Memorandum on Latvia*, Addressed to the Peace Conference by the Lettish Delegation, 1919
- Milner, Thos., *The Baltic, Its Gates, Shores and Cities*, London, 1854, (old, but useful for description)
- Norman, H., *All the Russias*, New York, 1902
- Norus and Zilius, *Lithuania's Case for Independence*, Washington, 1918, issued by the Lithuanian National Council in the United States
- New Europe, The*
- Orvis, Julia, *A Brief History of Poland*, Boston, 1916
- Phillips, A., *Poland*, New York.
- Rambeau, Alfred, *A History of Russia*, London, 1879, second edition
- Republic of Finland, An Economic and Financial Survey*, Helsingfors, 1920, published by the Central Statistical Bureau
- Reade, A., *Finland and The Fins*, New York, 1917
- Renwick, G., *Finland Today*, London, 1911
- Russian Baedeker*, 1914

Socialist Library, *The Revolution in the Baltic States*, extra vol. no. 1, edited by
Ramsay MacDonald, London, 1907
Stoddard and Frank, *The Stakes of the War*, New York, 1918
Szlupas, John, *Lithuania in Prospect and Retrospect*, published by the Lithuanian
Press Association of America
Times Current History Magazine
Wolf, Baron von Osten-Lacken, *The Legal Position of Finland in the Russian
Empire*, London, 1912
Young, E., *Finland, The Land of 1000 Lakes*, London, 1912
Pamphlets on Lithuania may be obtained from The Lithuanian National Council,
Washington, D. C.

I

INTERNATIONAL ASPECT

A. Geography

1. Position of Baltic Sea in relation to its economic and political importance to world
2. Position of Baltic States in regard to control of Baltic Sea by
Russia
Germany
Scandinavia
3. Position of Baltic States in regard to their political, strategic and economic importance to neighboring Great Powers
 - a. To Russia
Finland and Åland Islands vital to safety and westward expansion
Estonia, Latvia (Livonia and Courland) necessary as "Windows on Baltic," essential for sea-power and for transit area
Lithuania indispensable for defense and existence as Great Power, valuable for agriculture
 - b. To Germany
Finland, Latvia (Courland, Livonia) advantageous to powerful hold upon Russia, desirable for emigration and economic exploitation
Lithuania, as independent or annexed, helpful to eastward expansion, to agricultural and industrial dominance
 - c. To Sweden and Norway
Finland and Åland Islands a menace if Russified
 - d. To Poland
Lithuania desirable for strength and economic exploitation

Readings:

Encyclopedia Britannica (11th edition, article on Baltic Sea by W. C. B.)

Hernshaw, F., *Nineteenth Century Magazine*, vol. 79, 793

Larson, L., *Territorial Problems of the Baltic Basin*, Univ. of Illinois, Bulletin, vol. 16, no. 18

Stoddard and Frank, *The Stakes of the War*, 55-58, 70-72, 114-115.

See maps in Shepherd's *Atlas* and Muir's *Atlas*

B. History

The international struggle for control of Baltic Provinces and Baltic Sea, which have never passed under the exclusive control of any one state

1. Danish conquest in the 11th century: at height in 12th century
2. Germanic invasions, 1227-1348
Knights of the Sword, the Hansards, Teutonic Knights; their motives; degree of colonization and settlement

3. The hegemony of Poland, 1410-1621. Poland a Baltic power
4. The Baltic a Swedish lake in the 17th century
Finland conquered in 12th century
Work of Gustavus Adolphus. Conquest of Karelia, Ingria, Esthonia, Livonia
The imperialism of Charles XII
5. The great Northern War; the crucial conflict, 1699-1721
Coalition against Charles XII, of Russia, Poland, Denmark, Saxony
Plans of distribution for the Baltic provinces
Battles of Narva, Poltava, and final defeat of Charles XII
Treaty of Nystadt and collapse of Swedish hegemony in the Baltic, 1721
6. The growth of Russia as a Baltic power, 1721-1815
Russia supplants Sweden in the Baltic
Incorporation of Esthonia, Livonia and southern strip of Finland with Fortress of Viborg into Russia, 1721
Annexation of Finland, 1809
7. The Baltic "balance of power" since 1815
The two old powers, Denmark, Sweden
The two new powers, Russia, Germany
8. The Baltic question in the Great War
The control of the Baltic a stake of the war
The "balance of power" disturbed
The new interests involved, Great Britain and France
The effect of Treaty of Brest-Litovsk; the "balance of power" in favor of Germany
9. The effect of the armistice and peace settlement
The rise of the independent republics
The menace of Bolshevik control
The uncertainty of Russia's position
The question of supremacy in the Baltic still undecided

Readings:

- Bigelow, P., *The Borderland of Tsar and Kaiser*
 Drage, J., *Russian Affairs*, 355-363
 Hayes, C. H. J., *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, vol. I, 361, 374, 376, 378, 381-82, 387-88, 540
 Hill, N., *Poland and the Polish Question*, (Lithuania) 23, 29, 87, 125, 163, 318
 Howe, Sonia, *A Thousand Years of Russian History*, chs. 21, 24, 26
 Orvis, J., *A Brief History of Poland*
 Phillips, A., *Poland*, 30, 32, 38, 44, 62, 114, 117
 Rambeau, A., *History of Russia*, vol. I, 146, et seq., 192, 240; vol. 2, ch. I

Note: This section is intended to give the student merely a general survey of the relation of the Baltic States to neighboring powers. Histories of Russia, Sweden, Poland may be employed, using index in each case

II

NATIONAL ASPECT

A. Nationalist and anti-nationalist elements

1. Finland

a. Geography

Area, approximately 125,689 sq. miles

Topography, a plateau recently emerged from glacial period

Climate, like Arctic Russia

Islands, numerous, Åland group, extent, position, Åbo Archipelago

Lakes, many and important

Rivers, small and few

Ports, numerous. Helsingfors, Hangö, Åbo, Vasa, etc., icebound

b. Economic conditions

Industries

Agriculture, difficult

Products, cereals, dairy products, livestock, flax, hemp

Methods, advanced

Land tenure, movement to break up large estates; many small holdings

Forestry; abundant resources

Fisheries; abundant resources but undeveloped

Manufactures; recent growth

Centers, few; Helsingfors, Åbo, Tammerfors

Products; wood, paper, textiles, metals

Power; electric from lakes and waterfalls

Railroads; 2,553 sq. miles, almost all owned by state

Commerce; rapidly increasing

Natural outlet from Russia

Foreign interests; British, German

Readings:

Central Statistical Bureau, *The Republic of Finland*, containing maps, charts, pictures, statistics

Fisher, J. R., *Finland and the Tsars*, ch. 1

Fredericksen, N. C., *Finland: Its Public and Private Economy*, chs. 3-9

Handbooks, published by Historical Section of British Foreign Office, no. 47, 1-7, 65-116, no. 48, (Åland Islands.)

Kennard, H. P., *Russian Year Book*, 1912-1915

Norman, H., *All the Russias*, chs. 4, 5

Reade, A., *Finland and the Finns*, chs. 5, 10, 13

Renwick, G., *Finland Today*, chs. 1-7

Russian Baedeker, 1914, 198

c. Political history until end of 19th century

Tradition of independence

No historical records before 1157

- Swedish conquest, 1157-1809
 - Finland a Swedish province, no subjugation
 - Grand Duchy under Sweden 1581
 - A Swedish territory with no constitutional individuality, represented in Swedish Diet
 - Rapid development under Charles XI, 1660-1697
 - Great Northern War, loss of Karelia and Viborg to Russia by Treaty of Nystadt, 1721
 - Swedish Charters of Liberty, 1770, 1789
 - The Fundamental Laws, basis of Finland's Constitution
- Russian conquest, 1809
 - Finland and Åland Islands to Russia
 - Constitution assured by Alexander I.
 - Alexander's Manifesto of 1810 at Diet of Borgo
 - The "legal dilemma" of Finland—a constitutional unit in a monarchical state
 - Character of Finnish autonomy
 - Unrestricted in local affairs
 - Subject to Russia in foreign affairs
 - Rules of Alexander I; Nicholas I
 - Finland peaceful and contented under rule of Governor General and Constitution
 - Rule of Alexander II
 - First meeting of Diet since 1809 in 1863
 - The Constitution of 1863
 - Form of government established; Estates, Senate, Governor General, Secretary of State
 - Finland under its own Constitution until 1899

Readings:

- Fischer, chs. 2-10
- Fredericksen, ch. 11
- Handbook*, no. 47, 10-30
- Reade, chs. 1, 16
- Renwick, ch. 14 to p. 316
- Russian Baedeker*, 1914, 200-207
- Wolf, Baron von Osten Lacken, *The Legal Position of the Grand Duchy of Finland in the Russian Empire*
- Young, E., *Finland the Land of 1000 Lakes*, chs. 8, 10
- d. Races and classes; races cut lengthwise and classes cut crosswise
 - Finns*, ethnic origin, Mongolian; Tavastians in West, Karelians in East, 90 per cent of population; form peasantry in country, workmen in towns
 - Aliens*, Swedes in West, Southwest, on coast and in Åland Islands; form old landed aristocracy, merchants in towns and sailors
 - Lapps
 - Russians

Readings:

Handbook, no. 47, 7, no. 48 (Åland Islands).

Fredericksen, ch. 1, 2, 3

Reade, ch. 3

Renwick, ch. 10

Young, ch. 9

e. Culture and Religion

Language

Swedish, official language until 1863

Finnish, spoken by majority of Finns, the most highly developed
Finno-Ungrian tongue

Literature

Literary language established in 16th century. National revival
in 1835, edition of *Kalevala* by Lönnrot called the "fifth national
epic of the world"

Education

Free, compulsory, admirably organized, 96 per cent literate.
University of Helsingfors

Readings:

Fischer, ch. 1

Handbook, no. 47, 62-63

Reade, chs. 8-10

Renwick, chs. 11-13

Russian Baedeker, 1914, 199

Young, chs. 13-16

2. Esthonia

a. Geography

Area; includes Esthonia and North Livonia, approximately 23,160
sq. miles

Topography; low marshes and sandy plains

Climate; severe though temperate on coast, moist, cloudy

Islands; Dagö, Wormsö, in Moon Sound

Rivers; Dwina

Coasts; on Gulf of Finland and Baltic Sea

Ports; Reval, Kunda, on Gulf of Finland, icebound

b. Economic conditions

Industries

Agriculture predominant though difficult

Products; cereals, livestock

Methods; scientific

Land tenure; many great estates

Peasant proprietorship not gained until 1863. Some peasant
proprietors

Forestry; slight, resources abundant

Manufactures; recent growth, only slightly developed

Centers; Reval, Narva, Dorpat

Products; wood-pulp, vegetable oils, leather, textiles, flour
Railways; inadequate
Commerce; small
Imports; manufactured goods
Exports; timber, corn, flax, etc.
Transit area to German hinterland
Foreign interests; British

Readings:

Handbook, no. 50, 1-12, 31-77
Eastlake, *Letters from the Baltic* (old) ch. 6
Milner, T., *The Baltic, Its Gates, Shores and Cities*
Russian Baedeker, 1914, 32
Stoddard and Frank, 67
Scandinavian Review, December 1920

- c. Political history until close of 19th century
 - Historical tradition; subjugation and a continual struggle against oppression
 - German invasion in 12th century
 - German and Danish conquest complete in 1228
 - Teutonic Order Supreme, 1346
 - Reformation, 1552
 - Russian invasion under Ivan the Terrible, 1558-1562
 - Swedish conquest, 1660
 - Prosperity
 - Russian conquest, Great Northern War and Treaty of Nystadt, 1721
 - Esthonia a Russian province throughout 19th century
 - Government; Governor appointed by Tsar
 - Diet composed of landed proprietors
 - Old code of civil law preserved

Readings:

Handbook, no. 50, 14-25
Milner, ch. 6
Russian Baedeker, 1914, 31-32
Stoddard and Frank, 65-67

- d. Races and classes
 - Races cut Esthonia lengthwise and classes cut crosswise
 - Esths*, ethnic origin, Finno-Ungrian family, Ural-Altaic branch
 - Peasants in country; serfdom abolished 1803 but many remained bound to soil and service until 1845
 - Workmen in towns
 - 95 per cent of population
 - Aliens*, Germans or Balts, the ruling class in town and country; lost feudal privileges in 1803 but dominant until 1881; possessed extensive rights of self-government in local *Landtags*; 2 per cent of population
 - Russians, officials, few

- Jews, small merchants, few
- Swedes, few
- e. Culture and Religion
 - Language and Literature
 - Rich folk-lore
 - Literature the product of last two generations
 - Newspapers and journals
 - Education
 - "Golden Age" under Sweden
 - Popular schools and colleges
 - University of Dorpat founded 1662 ?
 - High intelligence among peasantry
 - Religion; Lutheran
 - Toleration granted by Russia, renewed 1874
 - Russification of press, language, education, religion after 1881
 - Survival of native culture by means of art, music, drama, clubs
 - Persistence of Lutheranism

Readings:

Handbook, no. 50, 8-12, 28-30
 Eastlake, *Letters from the Baltic*
 Milner, *The Baltic*, etc.
Russian Baedeker, 1914, 32
 Stoddard and Frank, 68

3. Livonia and Courland (Latvia or Lettland since November 13, 1918)

a. Geography

Area; includes South Livonia, Courland, Latgale
 Topography; plateau and undulating plain, sandy and fertile
 Climate; temperate, moist, cloudy
 Coasts; on Baltic Sea
 Islands; Osel, Moon, Runo
 Rivers; Dwina, Windau, Courland, Aa.
 Ports; Riga, icebound. Libau, Windau, ice-free

b. Economic conditions

Industries

Agriculture predominant

Products; cereals, livestock

Land tenure; many large estates, peasant ownership not gained until 1863. Few peasant holdings

Forestry; extensive resources

Fisheries; numerous

Mining; neither extensive nor valuable: lignite, chalk, amber

Manufactures; recent growth

Centers; Riga, Pernau, Mitau

Products; vegetable oils, wood-pulp, paper, flour, textiles, leather

Railways; inadequate

Commerce; recent expansion
Foreign interests; British, German
A transit area, opportunity for exploitation

Readings:

Eastlake, *Letters from the Baltic*

Handbook, no. 50, 31-79

Milner, *The Baltic*, etc.

Stoddard and Frank, 67

c. Political history

Historical tradition, subjugation, constant struggle against oppression

German invasion in 12th century

Teutonic Order supreme in Riga, 1330

Teutonic Order at height, 1494-1535

Reformation, 1552

Russian invasion under Ivan the Terrible, 1558-1561

Livonia ceded to Poland, 1561

Courland ceded as a co-vassal duchy of Lithuania to Kettler

Great prosperity and industry

Livonia conquered by Sweden, 1621

Time of prosperity

Great Northern War; Livonia ceded to Russia by Treaty of Nystadt, 1721

Courland annexed to Russia, 1795

Livonia and Courland as Russian provinces throughout 19th century

Government, same as Esthonia

Readings:

Handbook, no. 50, 13-25

Memorandum of Latvia to Peace Conference, 7-8

Russian Baedeker, 1914, 33

d. Races and classes

Races cut lengthwise and classes cut crosswise

Ancient Cours and Livs, present survivals

Letts, ethnic origin, Indo-European, Baltic group; related to Letts in Lithuania; form peasants in country (serfdom abolished 1819), and workmen in towns; form 75 per cent of population

Aliens, Germans or Balts, upper class in town and country, owners of big estates; rights of self-government in local *Landtags* until 1881; form 10 per cent of population

Russians, officials, 7 per cent of population

Jews, small merchants

e. Culture and Religion

Language and Literature

Rich, original literature

Periodicals, journals, 59 before war

Books, 827 published 1912

Education

No illiterates

- 98 Secondary schools before war
- 670 Societies working for education before war
- Dramatic art, fine arts, music

Readings:

Eastlake, *Letters from the Baltic*

Handbook, no. 50, 8-12, 28-30

Milner, *The Baltic*

Memorandum to Peace Conference, 5-6

Stoddard, Frank, 68-69

Contemporary Review, Lees F., Aug. 1918, vol. 112, 178

4. Lithuania

a. Geography

Area; frontiers not yet defined, contain districts of Vilna, Kovno, Suwalki, approximately 36,000 sq. miles. Present Lithuanian government claims East Prussia, Grodno, part of Courland

Topography; a plateau in west; a plain, the Pripet marshes, in east

Climate; temperate

Towns; Vilna, Grodno, Bialystock, Minsk

Rivers; Dwina and Niemen, draining to Baltic Sea, Dnieper to Black Sea

Port; Memel

b. Economic conditions

Industries

Agriculture, predominant

Products; cereals, livestock

Methods; antiquated before war

Land tenure; Ukase 1861, Land law 1906. Large estates and many peasant holdings

Forestry; resources abundant; undeveloped

Mining; no resources

Fisheries; abundant resources, undeveloped

Manufactures; very few

Breweries, flour mills, tanneries, paper mills. Little use made of national products

Centers; Vilna, Grodno, Bialystock

Commerce; no trading centers before war

Exports, considerable

Timber; cereals, horses, dairy products

Imports: few, manufactured articles

Foreign interest; German

Readings:

Handbook, 44, 12-19, 104-140

Norus and Zilius, *Lithuania's Case for Independence*

(Issued by Lithuanian Council in United States) 47-53

c. Political history

Tradition of independence

No political organization before 10th century

Invasion of Teutonic Knights and Knights of the Sword

- Result: formation of a monarchic state
- Lithuania at height of greatness, 13th-14th centuries
 - Vast extent of territory, Baltic to Black Sea
 - Services claimed to have rendered civilization
 - Deliverance of Russia from Mongols
 - Stemming advance of Teutonic Knights into east
- Union with Poland, 1366
 - Separatist tendencies
 - Necessity for many Acts of Union
- Union of Lublin, 1569
 - Attempt of Poland to absorb Lithuania
- Annexation by Russia, 1772, 1793, 1795
- Period of Russian oppression, 1815-1905
 - Promise of constitutional government in Treaty of Vienna
 - Tsar's title, Grand Duke of Lithuania
 - Rule of Alexander I, liberal
 - Rule of Nicholas I
 - Rising of 1830
 - Lithuania destroyed politically
 - Rule of Alexander II
 - Revolt of 1863
 - Exclusion of Lithuania from Zemstvo system of 1864
 - Rule of Alexander III
 - Extreme Russification

Readings:

Gabrys, Z., *Lithuania and the Autonomy of Poland*, published by the Lithuanian Information Bureau, Paris, 1915

Handbook, no. 44, 41-47

Norus and Zilius, 9-20

Phillips, A., *Poland*, 28-42 et seq.

Szlupas, Z., *Lithuania in Retrospect and Prospect*, published by Lith. Press Assoc. of America

Jusaitis, K., *History of the Lithuanian Nation*, published by Lith. Cath. Truth Society, chs. 1-5

Times Current History Magazine, vol. 7, pt. 2, 501 (maps of early greatness)

d. Races and classes

Races cut lengthwise and classes crosswise

Letts, ethnic origin, an Indo-European race, majority of population, oppressed peasantry in country and workmen in towns

Aliens, Poles, dominant economically

Land owners and upper class in towns

Germans, in towns, prominent in industry

Russians, officials, few

Jews, small merchants, numerous

Readings:

Handbook, no. 44, 19-24

Norus and Zilius, 7

Szlupas, 12-15

e. Culture and religion

Language and literature

A distinct language belonging to Indo-European division, resembling the ancient Sanscrit, oldest Indo-European tongue

Current literature rich in song and story, folk-lore

Rise of Lithuanian literature in 16th century

Dauksha, translator of Bible

Donelaitis, poet

Shirvydas, the lexicographer

Polonization of literature

Russification of literature

Prohibition of Lithuanian press, 1864

Prohibition of Latin script, 1864

The new national movement, 1883

Work of the Lithuanian Catholic clergy

Publication of *Ausra* or *Dawn* in Prussia

Press ban lifted by Russia in 1904

Period of unusual activity

Education, predominately Polish

No Lithuanian *intelligensia* until very recently

Work of Catholic clergy to preserve Lithuanian learning

Religion, Roman Catholic

Conflict with orthodox Church

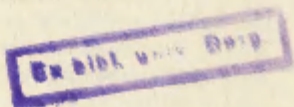
Readings:

Handbook, no. 44, 19-24

Jusaitis, ch. 6

Lees, G., *Contemporary Review*, vol. 114, 151

Norus and Zilius, 7, 55-62



B. Recent nationalist and democratic movements

1. Finland, the leader of revolt

a. Against Sweden

Causes

The assertion of Finnish nationalism

The waning of Swedish culture, political and economic power

The influence of the industrial revolution

Beginnings

Rise of Fennoman movement, the cultural, political and economic

Finnish renaissance in middle of nineteenth century

Formation of parties

Svecoman, conservative, anti-Russian and pro-Swede

Old Finn, liberal, bourgeois, anti-Swede and pro-Russian

Young Finn, bourgeois, liberal and radical, the *intelligensia*, anti-Russian and anti-Swede, "Finland for the Finns"

Result

The triumph of the Finns and growth in power of middle and intellectual class, 1869-1898

Rapid social and national development

b. Against Russia

Cause

Russia's infringement of Finland's constitutional rights

Beginnings

Russification under Nicholas II

Conscription imposed 1898

Dictator, Bobrikoff, appointed, 1898

Abrogation of Constitution, 1899

General Pan-Slavist policy against language, press, education, religion

Results

Passive resistance, 1899-1904

Assassination Bobrikoff, 1904

Rise of cooperative movement

Formation of Fennoman Socialist Party at Congress of Åbo, 1899

Nucleus, group of trade unions formed 1890

Marxist basis

Political organization complete, 1903

Membership, 45,000 in 1905

Effect of Russian revolution, 1905

Socialists in charge, general strike

Capitulation of Russian government

Manifesto of 1908

Reform of Diet

Growth of socialism and consequent alarm of Svecoman bourgeoisie

Rising of "Reds" at Sveaborg, 1906

Renewal of Russification, 1908

Finland under Russian Council Ministers

Destruction of constitution, 1910

Law of Rights of Russians in Finland, 1910

Effect of the Great War, 1914

Political

Extension of program of Russification, 1914

No promise of autonomy

Growth of Socialist Party

Opposition to capitalist War

Social and economic

Great industrial prosperity

Agriculture neglected for industry

Increase of proletariat in towns

Growth of Socialist Party

Readings:

Butler, R., *The New Eastern Europe*, 7-17

Fisher, chs. 9-16

Fredericksen, ch. 11

Handbook, no. 47, 20-41

Reade, chs. 2, 17, (pp. 289-305), 18

Renwick, 316-332

Young, chs. 8 (pp. 147-152), 10, 18

Effect of Russian Revolution, March, 1917

Political

Restoration of Finland's constitution by Russian Provisional Government, March 20, 1917

The new Diet, April, 1917

The constitution

Democratic legislation

Growth of Socialist Party

Forms 80 per cent. of Diet in April

"Red" risings at Viborg and Helsingfors

Split in party, "Reds," Moderates

Disinclination for autonomy

Alarm of bourgeois parties

Intrigues with Russians and Germans

Desire for autonomy to cut connections with Bolshevik Russia

Coalition outnumbers Socialist majority in Diet, autumn of 1917

Social and economic

Intensification of internal difficulties

Shortage of food supply

Growth of socialism

Effect of Bolshevik coup d'état, November 1917

Declaration of Finland's independence by Moderates, November 15, 1917

Adopted by Diet, December 7

Recognized by Russian Bolsheviks, January 4, 1918, by Scandinavian countries, France, Germany

Outbreak of civil war and war for independence, January 29, 1918

Immediate cause

Pro-German leaning of bourgeois parties

Intrigues with Russians and Germans

Moderate Socialists thrown into sympathy with Bolshevik "Reds," strengthened by Russian "Reds"

Lack of food and social disorders

The horrors of the war

The "White Terror"

The "Red Terror"

The Finnish Social Republic of Workmen

Treaty of amity with Russian Federated Soviet Republic, March 1, 1919

Treaty of Peace with Germany, March 7, 1918. Germany recognized Finland's independence

Effect of Treaty of Brest-Litovsk

German influence strengthened

Complete victory of "Whites" under Mannerheim, aided by Germans and Russians

The non-intervention of Sweden

Germans depose Mannerheim and assume charge of the Finnish armies, June, 1918

Crown offered to German prince

- Effect of Armistice and peace settlement
 - Decline of German influence
 - Election of Mannerheim as Regent, conservative candidate
 - Election of Stalberg, moderate liberal, Swedish-Finn, elected by Liberals and Socialists
 - Recognition of Finland as an independent Republic by Great Britain and the United States, May 6, 7, 1919
 - Treaty with Soviet Government, December 26, 1920
 - Boundaries settled and independence recognized with no conditions

Readings:

- Alexinsky, Greg., *Russia and The Great War*, 216-220
- Butler, 17-20
- Contemporary Review*, Wright, H., vol. 113, 447, Reuter, J., vol. 115, 511
- Handbook*, no. 47, 47-61
- Hayes, C. H. J., *A Brief History of the Great War*, 230, 237, 251, 255, 259, 290, 300, 334, 335, 359, 392, 397, 402
- Times Current History Magazine*, Text Treaty, Germany and Finland, vol. 8, pt. 1, 438
- Text Treaty, Finland and Russian Government, vol. 13, pt. 2, 472
- Saas, A., vol. 11, pt. 2, 104

2. Esthonia

Beginnings

Causes

- Centuries of German rule until middle of 19th century
 - Political, diets in control of Balt barons
 - Economic, agrarian dominance of Balts in spite of emancipation and land laws.
 - Social and cultural, complete dominance of Germans
- Rise of Esthonian national spirit
- Influence of industrial revolution
- Russification after 1881
 - Political, Russian bureaucracy instead of Balt barons
 - Social and cultural, displacement of German language, religion, education by Russian

Results

- Precipitation of national and social movements
- Rise of Young Balt party to preserve German *Kultur*
- Rise of Young Esthonian party
- Aims
 - The overthrow of Balt land monopoly and oligarchy
 - Autonomy in Russian state, under democratic institutions

Methods

- Formation of cooperative societies
- Intellectual development
- Effect of Russian Revolution of 1905
 - Rise of Socialist Party
 - Formed from industrial and agricultural workers

- Suppression of nationalist and socialist movement by Russia with assistance of German Balts
- Effect of the Great War
 - Nationalist Socialists side with Russia against Germany
 - Russia encourages nationalism against Germans
- Effect of Russian Revolution March, 1917
 - Right to elect Esthonian National Council, on basis of universal suffrage, granted by Provisional Russian Government, April 13, 1917
 - First National Esthonian Assembly, July 14, 1917
 - Provisional government established
 - Declaration for a national democratic organization, local autonomy, federation with Russia
- Effect of Bolshevik coup d'état, November, 1917
 - Declaration of Provisional Government, November 28, 1917
 - Bolshevik invasion of Esthonia
 - Appeal of German Balts to Germany for aid
 - Strong opposition of Esthonians
 - Establishment of German military rule
 - Protest of Esthonians, February 4, 1918
 - Counter-establishment of Esthonian Democratic Government under C. Paets, February 24
- Effect of Treaty of Brest-Litovsk
 - German military occupation until November, 1918: Esthonia a "second Belgium"
 - Continuance of Esthonian government
 - Protests against German rule, March 21, April 13
 - Recognition of the *de facto* Esthonian government by France, May, 1918
 - Encouragement from Great Britain
- Effect of armistice and peace settlement
 - Emergence of Esthonian Provisional Government at Reval under C. Paets
 - Terms providing for German troops remaining as guard against Bolsheviks
 - Retreat of "Teutonism by back door and invasion of Bolshevism by front door"
 - Renewed struggle with Bolshevism
 - Brave fight of Esthonians
 - Aid from Great Britain and Finland
 - Bolshevism expelled, February 1, 1919
 - Esthonian Constituent Assembly elected April, 1919
 - Formation of democratic government with Strandman, Prime Minister
 - Esthonian government presents case to Peace Conference
 - Attitude of Allies, caution
 - Final negotiations with Bolsheviks August—December 1919
 - Peace of Dorpat, 1920
 - Russia grants complete independence
 - Esthonia grants free economic access to sea

Recognition of Esthonia by Allied Governments, except United States,
January 27, 1921
Attitude of United States

Readings:

Alexinsky, Greg., 208-211

Butler, 21-23

Caro, Z., *Esthonia, Her Claims to Independence*, published by Anglo-Esthonian Bureau, September, 1918

Hale, Robert, *The Baltic Provinces*

Report of the Mission to Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania (Presented by Mr. Lodge), 1919

Handbook, no. 50, 23-27

Hayes, *Brief History of the War*, 238, 255, 334, 341, 359, 397, 402

Laaman, E., *Contemporary Review*, vol. 117, 696

Morrison, S., *The New Europe*, vol. 12, 200

Piip, A., *Contemporary Review*, vol. 114, 242

—, *The New Europe*, vol. 15, 6

3. Latvia or Lettland

Character of movement, similar to one in Esthonia but more violent and intense because of closer proximity to Germany and closer relationship with Russian Socialists

The beginnings

Causes

German domination for centuries

Political, control of local diets by Balt barons

Economic, agrarian supremacy of Balts

Social and cultural, complete German domination

Influence of industrial revolution at close of nineteenth century

Russification after 1881

Political, Russian bureaucracy instead of German Balts

Social and cultural, Russian language, religion, education instead of German *Kultur*

Results

Precipitation of national and social movements

National renaissance 1840

Rise of land holding peasantry 1863-1870

Rise of Lettish nationalist bourgeoisie in town and country

Rise of Lettish Social Democratic proletariat, 1893-1894

Formation of Lettish Social Democratic Party, 1904

Aims

The establishment of a Russian Democratic Republic allowing home rule to all nationalists

Methods

Education of class consciousness

Preparation for armed uprising and the general strike

Church demonstrations

Organization of "circles"

Effect of Russian Revolution of 1905

The revolution in Riga, 1905

Socialist congresses

Revolution in the country

Church demonstrations

Attack on Balt barons

The October general strike

The trade union movement

The Tsar's penal expedition, the counter revolution, its horrors

German Balts as Russian agents

Balt unions for defense of German *Kultur*

Lettish bourgeoisie on side of "law and order"

Lett unions for education, culture, credit banks

Effect of the Great War, 1914

Letts loyal to Russia; hatred of Balts intensified

The Lett Battalion

German invasion of Latvia, 1915

Effect of Russian Revolution, March 1917

Inability of Russian Provisional Government to grant a National Council, as in Esthonia, because of German occupation

Meeting of Courland National Assembly, July 1917; declaration of independence instead of home rule

Effect of Bolshevik coup d'état, 1917

Lett Battalion joins Bolsheviks and supports Lenin

Formation of *Landesrats* or Councils by Germans at Riga and Mitau, used as tools of Berlin government.

German Balt landlords form two thirds of Councils

Formation of secret Lettish National Council, September, 1917, and "Riga bloc"; opposed German and Russian annexation

Effect of Treaty of Brest-Litovsk

German influence strengthened; establishment of the Grand Duchy of Courland by vote of National Council under German influence, May 18, 1917; crown offered to a Hohenzollern

Effect of armistice and peace settlement

Collapse of German influence and Councils

Formation of the Latvian State Council as a result of secret work of Lettish National Council and "Riga bloc."

Latvia declared a free and independent republic, November 18, 1918

Invasion of Bolsheviks

Return of Germans under von der Goltz

Overthrow of Latvian Provisional Government

Struggle of political factions, Balt, German, Lett; the Needra Government

Interference and advice of Allied and American representatives

Formation of coalition cabinet of 6 Letts, 2 Balts, 1 Jew, July, 1919

Presentation of Latvia's case at Peace Conference

Attitude of Allies; caution

Final conclusion of treaty with Russian Soviet Government, August 11, 1920

Russia grants Latvia complete freedom and exemption from war debts

Latvia grants Russia free economic transit to sea

Recognition of Latvia by Allied Powers, except United States, January 27, 1921

Attitude of United States

Readings:

Alexinsky, 211-216

Butler, 21-25

Contemporary Review, vol. 118, 581, 737. Text of Treaty between Latvia and Russia

Hale, *Report of Mission to Finland, Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania*

Hayes, *Brief History of Great War*, 121, 234, 238, 254, 256, 300, 334, 359, 397, 402
Memorandum to the Peace Conference, 8-12

Morrison, *The New Europe*, vol. 12, 77, 107, 155

Socialist Library, Extra vol. 1, *The Revolution in the Baltic Provinces* (edited by Ramsay MacDonald)

Wright, C., *Contemporary Review*, vol. 116, 162

4. Lithuania

Character of movement, a triple struggle against Poland, Germany, Russia

Beginnings

Causes

Polish oppression

Early period, from Lithuanian—Polish Union, 1386, to Russian annexation, 1795

Renewal of Polonization in nineteenth century

Political, the Polish National Democratic movement and attempt to revive a Polish-Lithuanian Union

Power of Polish nobility and polonized Lithuanian nobility

Economic, agrarian supremacy of Polish nobility and Polonized Lithuanian nobility

Social and cultural, complete Polonization of education (University of Vilna and schools), religion, language. Absence of a Lithuanian *intelligensia*

German oppression

In Prussian or Minor Lithuania, complete German political, economic and cultural dominance

Russian oppression

Early period beginning 1795

Partition, appropriation of territory, attempted de-nationalization

Period of extreme Pan-slavism; a double Russification directed against Poles and Lithuanians in Lithuania

Political

Abolition of Lithuanian statute and substitution of Russian law

- Russian bureaucracy
- Lithuanians debarred from public life
- Economic
 - Colonization of land with Russians
 - Land-holding by Lithuanians limited
 - Practical exclusion of Lithuanians from business and commerce
- Social and cultural
 - Russification of education, language, religion
 - Suppression of Lithuanian press and of Latin script
- Results
 - National revival under Bishop of Samogitia, 1840-1850
 - Social, intellectual, religious
 - Work of Catholic clergy in keeping alive Lithuanian language and literature
 - Rise of a Lithuanian *intelligensia* from peasantry
 - Rise of young Lithuanian parties
 - Social Democrats, unlike violent Lettish Socialists
 - Appeared 1902-1903
 - Composed of city workmen, small
 - Peoples Socialists, like Russian Social Revolutionists, led by Kerensky
 - Democrat, composed mostly of intellectuals
 - Rise of a secret Lithuanian press
- Effect of Russian Revolution, 1905
 - Meeting of National Assembly at Vilna, November, 1905
 - Declaration for autonomy in a federated Russia
 - Nationalist demands for education
 - Reply of Russia, cessation of Russification and granting of Nationalist demands
 - Convention of Lithuanians in America at Philadelphia, 1906
- Effect of the Great War, 1914
 - Proclamation of Russian government promising national autonomy at close of war
 - German invasion and occupation, 1915
 - Attitude and sufferings of Lithuanians
 - Organization of National Council, 1916
 - Demands for national independence outside Lithuania
 - Stockholm Conference, October, 1916
 - Berne Conference, March, 1916
 - Lithuanian Conference in America, 1917
 - Conference in Moscow, 1917
- Effect of Russian Revolution, March, 1917
 - No grant of autonomy from Russian Provisional Government
 - Proclamation of national independence by National Council; unpublished under Germany's orders
 - Germany's promise to support national independence after war
 - Acceptance of German rule from fear of Poland
- Effect of Bolshevik coup d'état, 1917

- Declaration of independence from Russia, December 11, 1917
- Proclamation of Lithuania as a free, independent republic, February 16, 1918
- Recognition (*de facto*) by Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark, Italy
- Effect of Treaty of Brest-Litovsk
- Complete German domination until November, 1918
- "Recognition" of Lithuanian independence by Germany, March 23, 1918
- German Prince "elected" as King: accepted by Lithuanians from fear of Polish invasion
- Effect of armistice and peace settlement
- Partial collapse of German rule
- Reorganization of National Council, January 14, 1919
- Formation of provisional government
- Invasion of Bolsheviki
 - Strong resistance of Lithuanians
 - Polish invasion on pretext of fighting Bolsheviki
 - Occupation of Vilna
 - Fomentation of Bolshevik risings
 - Lithuanian protests to Peace Conference; attitude of Allies
 - Peace with Bolshevik Government, July 12, 1920
- Effect of Polish imperialism
 - Second invasion of Vilna under General Zeligowski in spite of agreement of October 7, 1920
 - Lithuanians forced to agree to plebiscite under League of Nations
 - Status of Lithuania rendered uncertain
 - Non-recognition of Lithuania by Allied Powers (March, 1921)

Readings:

- Butler, ch. 3
- Gabrys, 8-9
- Hale, *Report of Mission to Baltic Provinces*
- Handbook*, no. 44, 47-49
- Jusaitis, 130-202
- Lees, G. *Contemporary Review*, vol. 114, 151
- , *Contemporary Review*, vol. 118, 57
- Martus, A., *Times Current History Magazine*, vol. 8, pt. 1, 458
- Norus and Zilius, 60-95

III

THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE BALTIC STATES: THEIR NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS AND PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

A. Finland

1. Status, a free, independent republic, recognized by Allied Powers, the United States and Russian Soviet Government

Readings:

- The Statesman's Yearbook*, 1920, 816-820
- Whitakers Almanac*, 1921, 756

2. Problems

The Åland Islands question

Causes

Sweden's claims and interests

Historic; Swedish domination from 12th century until 1809

Economic; bulk of trade with Sweden

Geographic; close relationship; an open sea between; Åbo nearer Sweden than Finland

Racial; Swedish element 96 per cent. of population

Cultural; Swedish language, schools

Strategic; danger of a naval base belonging to a hostile power:

Islands key to Gulf of Bothnia

Russia's claims and interests

Historic; conquest in 1809

Economic; ports

Geographic; a part of Finland before its loss

Racial; none

Cultural; none

Strategic; a base for fortifications

1835, Fortress of Bomarsund begun, destroyed by British fleet, 1854

1856, Treaty of Paris, Convention forbidding fortification of Islands

1906, Russian garrison established

1907, Russia's request to Great Britain and France to cancel Convention of 1856

1907, secret treaty between Russia and Germany, giving Russia a free hand in Islands

1908, Baltic Treaty, Russia, Germany, Sweden, Denmark: no ban on fortification implied

1908, Declaration of Earl Grey against fortification of Islands

Finland's claims and interests

Historic; Islands always a part of Finland and under her administration except for brief periods

Economic; slight

Geographic; close; linked under water, only a shallow sea and islands between

Racial; too small for consideration

Cultural; none

Strategic; a naval base

Effect of Great War

Fortification of Islands by Russia

Alarm aroused in Sweden

Effect of Russian Revolution, March, 1917

Formation of Communal Assembly

Wish expressed for reunion with Sweden, August, 1917

Effect of Bolshevik coup d'état, September, 1917

Alarm in Sweden increased by publication of secret treaty of 1907

- Demand of Islanders by plebiscite for reunion with Sweden, December, 1917
- Independence of Finland recognized by Sweden and Germany, 1918
- Bolshevist force landed in Islands
- Swedish military expedition into Islands, February, 1918
- Appeal of Islanders for reunion with Sweden, March, 1918*
- Effect of Treaty of Brest-Litovsk
 - Agreement between Sweden, Germany, Finland not to fortify Islands
- Effect of armistice and peace settlement
 - Appeals of Islanders for reunion with Sweden to Great Britain and the United States, November, 1918
 - Deputation of Islanders to Paris, February, 1919
- Question submitted to the Council of the League of Nations and still unsettled (March 15, 1921)
- Finland's objection

Readings:

Handbook, no. 50

Valentin, H., *The New Europe*, vol. 6, 184 and vol. 15, 226

Westermarck, E., *Contemporary Review*, vol. 118, 790

3. Future Status: Proposals

An independent state

Difficulties in maintaining political and economic power

Union with Esthonia

Advantages urged, racial similarity, strength

Disadvantages urged, nationalist differences, disparity of economic development

Leader of a Baltic League or Entente

Conference of five Baltic States, including Poland, August, 1920

Aim, to lay the foundations for a political and economic entente in the north, similar to the "Little Entente"

Outlook, favorable (March, 1921)

(See below under Esthonia and Latvia)

Readings:

Contemporary Review, vol. 118, 579

B. Esthonia and Latvia

1. Status

Esthonia, a free independent Republic, recognized by Allied Powers and Soviet Russia

Government

Latvia, a free independent Republic, recognized by Allied Powers and Soviet Russia

Government

2. Problems

Present economic prostration

The London "Banking Group" and its plan for "practical reconstruction"

3. Future Status: Proposals

Autonomous states in a federated Russia

Advantages urged:

Political, protection and strength

Economic, Russia's need of Baltic ports and Baltic ports' need of Russia

Disadvantages urged:

Too many nationalities to consider

Present deep distrust of Russia

Independent states with economic guarantees to Russia (present status)

Advantages urged:

Freedom of Baltic dependent on freedom of Esthonia and Latvia

Gateway for world's commerce into eastern Europe assured

Menace of a German Baltic League and Baltic lake weakened

Disadvantages urged:

Lack of adequate political and economic power to maintain independence

A prey for future German and Russian aggression

An opportunity for future war

Federation in a Baltic League or Entente

Arguments for:

Small nations in same region and with contiguous frontiers

Creation of a buffer state between Germany and Russia

Reduction of Russian and German aggression

Establishment of northeastern European stability and equilibrium

A guarantee of permanent peace

Arguments against:

Difficulty of nationalist elements, five distinct languages, interests, traditions

Rivalry for leadership between Poland and Finland

Readings:

Contemporary Review, vol. 118, 579

Larson, L., *Territorial Problems of the Baltic Basin*, 13-15

Memorandum of Latvia to Peace Conference, 15-22

Morrison, *The New Europe*, vol. 12, 77

Statesman's Year Book, 1920, 1122, 1123

Whitakers Almanac, 1921, 791, 792

C. Lithuania

1. Status, a Republic, free and independent from Russian Government

2. Problems

Complete economic prostration and devastation

Lack of political power

International non-recognition

Territorial boundaries unsettled

Relations to Poland unsettled

Relations to White Russia unsettled

3. Future Status: Proposals

An autonomous state in a federated Russia

Advantages and disadvantages urged (see under Esthonia and Latvia)

An independent state

Arguments for:

Recovery of old nationality

A buffer state between Russia and Poland

Arguments against:

Impossibility of political or economic maintenance

Lack of Lithuanian upper and middle class

Prey to Russian and Polish aggression

Field for German exploitation

Union with Latvia

Advantages:

Strength, similarity of race and language

Gain of economic power now entirely lacking

Disadvantages:

Diversity of nationalist elements

Burden to Latvia

Insufficient strength to resist Polish imperialism or Russian and German aggression

Union with Poland

Arguments for:

Historic claims

Political and economic strength

Nobility and *intelligensia* already Polish

Strong buffer state between Germany and Russia

Arguments against:

Violation of nationalism

An impossible settlement for future peace

Independent state in a Baltic League

Advantages:

Everything to gain; little to give

Bulwark against Polish imperialism (see under Esthonia and Latvia)

Difficulties:

Present unsettled status of Lithuania, both national and international
(March, 1921)

Readings:

Butler, 66-67

Jusaitis, ch. 8

Statesman's Yearbook, 1920, 1229-1230

Whitakers Almanac, 1921, 792

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